

Further Prolegomena to a Study of the Pantokrator Psalter: An Unpublished Miniature, Some Restored Losses, and Observations on the Relationship with the Chludov Psalter and Paris Fragment

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Our knowledge of the earliest psalter illustration in Byzantium is unlikely to be advanced by the discovery of new manuscripts or fragments.¹ It may, however, be possible to wring more evidence from the works that survive. This study contributes further information on the ninth-century psalters, specifically on the original pictorial content of the Pantokrator Psalter. As has long been recognized, the Pantokrator Psalter does not survive intact. An amount of text equal to about one gathering is missing from the start, and seventeen lacunae can be counted over the rest of the manuscript.² Most of the gaps seem to result from the removal of single leaves, taken in all likelihood for the sake of miniatures painted on them. Only fourteen of the lacunae actually represent complete losses for the art historian, because J. Strzygowski recognized four of the missing leaves in St. Petersburg.³ In addition to sheets lost, a number of leaves were mutilated

¹ Manuscripts cited by abbreviation and the published sources:

B = Barberini Psalter: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372. J. Anderson, P. Canart, and C. Walter, *The Barberini Psalter: Codex Vaticanus Graecus 372* (Zurich, 1989).

Br = Bristol Psalter: London, British Library, Add. MS 40,731. S. Dufrenne, *Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen âge: Pantocrator 61, Paris grec 20, British Museum 40731* (Paris, 1966), 49–66, pls. 47–60.

Ch = Chludov Psalter: Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (State Historical Museum), gr. 129. M. Ščepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi psaltyri: Grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX veka* (Moscow, 1977).

P = Paris Fragment: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 20. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs* (see above, Br), 39–46, pls. 34–46; and H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1929), 40–43, pls. LXXIII–LXXVIII.

Pk = Pantokrator Psalter: Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery Library, cod. 61, and cuttings in St. Petersburg, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina, cod. 265. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs* (see above, Br), 14–38, pls. 1–33; and S. Pelekanides et al., *Hoi thesouroi tou Hagiou Orous*, III (Athens, 1979), 265–80, figs. 180–237.

² J. Anderson, “The Palimpsest Psalter, Pantokrator Cod. 61: Its Content and Relationship to the Bristol Psalter,” *DOP* 48 (1994), 201–5, for contents.

³ J. Strzygowski, review of J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustrationen [sic] im Mittelalter*, in *BZ* 6 (1897), 423–25. For these leaves, see Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 25, 28, 34.

when miniatures were cut from their margins. Many of these losses can be restored with a degree of confidence; by “restoration” I mean that the lost subject can be identified, not that its image can be recaptured. The evidence comes from three sources, one from within the Pantokrator Psalter itself. The manuscript bears unmistakable traces of missing miniatures: offprinting and shadowing on leaves once in contact with now lost scenes as well as small parts of miniatures that survived the knife. The second source comprises the other marginal psalters considered to be of about the same period and to have had similar illustrative cycles: the Paris Fragment and the Chludov Psalter.⁴ S. Dufrenne and K. Corrigan have used parallels from these manuscripts to restore a number of Pantokrator losses.⁵ The third source used here is the Bristol Psalter, an eleventh-century adaptation of the Pantokrator.

In the course of comparing the four psalters, an unexpected category of information relevant to the early history of illustration takes shape. This is the group of subjects found in one or both of the two other psalters—the Chludov Psalter and the Paris Fragment—but never in the Pantokrator. It is important to identify the passages the Pantokrator illuminator did *not* illustrate because the evidence can be used to suggest some thematic differences among the earliest Byzantine psalters. In the last section of this paper I examine a group of subjects, referred to here as “double glosses,” that seem to bring the question of absent subject matter into particularly sharp focus. Despite their obvious similarities, the three early manuscripts appear to have been different in content, and the differences may have chronological implications.

AN UNPUBLISHED MINIATURE

Before beginning the comparisons, I wish to introduce a miniature from the Pantokrator Psalter hitherto unpublished but possibly original. Drawn in outline in the margin of folio 65 are bones and limbs that illustrate Ps. 52:6, “For God has scattered the bones of the men-pleasers; they were ashamed, for God despised them” (Fig. 1). The subject has no parallel in either the Chludov or the Bristol Psalter, and the passage illustrated does not occur among those preserved in the Paris Fragment. The forms scattered about are ones otherwise found in Byzantine images of Ezekiel in the valley of the dry bones

⁴The parallels are well known and have been a cornerstone of the scholarly discussion; poorly understood is the mechanism that gave rise to them. From among the possibilities, K. Weitzmann (*Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1935], 54–56) proposed that all three derive from the same archetype; the Paris Fragment, he felt, was made in a place quite removed from the scriptorium in which the Pantokrator and Chludov psalters were both made, though by separate artists (presumably from the same model); A. Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin: Dossier archéologique*, 2nd ed. [Paris, 1984], 284) thought that all three manuscripts were made about the same time in the same scriptorium and, in part, by the same person who had access to an illustrated psalter that served as an inspiration more than as a model strictly defined; K. Corrigan (*Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* [Cambridge, 1992], 24, 126–27) endorses Grabar's position that they are products of the same scriptorium, but suggests that they were probably written by different scribes; C. Walter (“‘Latter-Day’ Saints and the Image of Christ in the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters,” *REB* 45 [1987], 219) accepts the likelihood of a single model but questions the necessity of positing a single scriptorium for the Chludov and Pantokrator psalters (and presumably Paris. gr. 20); he sees their making as a more dispersed phenomenon.

⁵Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, and Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*; specific pages cited below where appropriate.

and the Last Judgment.⁶ The question arises as to whether or not the miniature is contemporary with the others in the psalter. Two observations may cast some doubt on the drawing's ninth-century date. First, examples of the Last Judgment that have a collection of bones as a discrete compositional unit tend to be later than the Pantokrator Psalter. Second, no inscription appears around the image; most, but by no means all (cf. fols. 63, 103v, 107v, 113, 132, 151, 164), of the miniatures are identified by inscription. Perhaps the illuminator had difficulty in finding a succinct tag for the collection of bones. It should perhaps be added that the individual who inventoried the miniatures at the end of the nineteenth or first half of the twentieth century omitted this one from the numeration.⁷ Although worth recording, the objections are insufficiently strong to invalidate the miniature as an original part of the cycle. Speaking in favor of originality is the expert and delicate draftsmanship that recalls the underdrawing occasionally visible in damaged miniatures (e.g., fols. 23, 68v, 107v, 149v, 217v). Like the underdrawings revealed by flaking, the bones and fragments were executed in outline so as to establish the boundaries of the paint. If a later addition, the miniature would be of higher than usual quality and in a book otherwise lacking graffiti. Finally, the subject does find one rough parallel in the scene of Ezekiel in the Valley painted in the contemporary Paris Sermons of Gregory Nazianzen, made at the behest of Basil I.⁸ The added significance of the parallel lies in the relationship that has been seen as existing between the visual interpretations sometimes found in the volume of Gregory's sermons and those in the first psalters.⁹ The drawing strikes me as enough like the miniatures in style and content to warrant publication for consideration as part of the cycle.

RESTORATION OF DAMAGED LEAVES

I have demonstrated elsewhere that the eleventh-century illuminator of the Bristol Psalter used the much earlier Pantokrator Psalter as his principal source.¹⁰ On the basis of the unique relationship between the Pantokrator and Bristol psalters, it should be possible to identify the subjects removed from the margins of the earlier manuscript. What complicates use of the Bristol Psalter to restore Pantokrator losses is the eleventh-century illuminator's tendency to omit miniatures that he considered to be obscure, redundant, or irrelevant to his purpose. The Bristol Painter created a new cycle and did so mainly by selecting subjects from the wide range of Pantokrator imagery. Comparing the two manuscripts (over their preserved portions only) reveals forty-five instances in which the Bristol Painter elected not to copy a Pantokrator miniature. Compensating for the Bristol Painter's changes, and serving as a check throughout, is the Chludov Psalter, which is closely related in style, content, and date to the Pantokrator Psalter. Of the forty-

⁶B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends: Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes* (Vienna, 1966), 149–56, figs. 23, 24, 28, for discussion with examples.

⁷Anderson, "Palimpsest Psalter," 209, on the numbering.

⁸Fol. 438v: Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. LVIII.

⁹S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus: Paris gr. 510. A Study of the Connections between Text and Images," *DOP* 16 (1962), 226, 227; L. Brubaker, "Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus (B.N. Gr. 510)," *DOP* 39 (1985), 1–13.

¹⁰Anderson, "Palimpsest Psalter," 199–220.

five Pantokrator miniatures that the Bristol Painter failed to take over or adapt, thirty-eight have parallels in the Chludov Psalter. The second relative of the Pantokrator Psalter, the nearly contemporary Paris Fragment, survives as a mere handful of gatherings, but its testimony is nonetheless significant and is cited here when appropriate.

Nineteen leaves have been trimmed from the Pantokrator Psalter. In five instances (fols. 11v, 61, 72v, 118v, 149v), some or most of the miniature remains on the leaf. Three ghosts on facing leaves (fols. 5 [from 4v], 12 [from 11v], 19v [from 20]) attest not only to the presence of miniatures but also to aspects of their compositions.¹¹ On four more leaves (fols. 21, 88v, 124v, 154), a trace of paint remains to show that a miniature was once present but not what its subject might have been.

I now turn to the individual leaves, not all of which will be subject to satisfactory restoration.¹² It should be noted that the Pantokrator Psalter is a palimpsest; the upper psalm text appears to follow closely, but not precisely, the lower text, which was written in uncial.

Folio 21. Upper text: Ps. 8:4–8, Entry into Jerusalem (Figs. 2, 3)

The top part of the leaf has been carefully trimmed across its length; beneath the cut edge on the recto appear traces of paint from a miniature. The Bristol Psalter has a panoramic version of the Entry into Jerusalem in the lower margin, just below Ps. 8:3 (“Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, you perfected praise”). The relevant leaf of the Chludov Psalter (Ch 7) has also been mutilated, but other evidence strongly suggests that its illuminator depicted the Entry at the top right margin near the beginning lines of the psalm.¹³ On the basis of the Bristol Psalter evidence and the indirect testimony of the Chludov Psalter, the restoration of the Entry into Jerusalem, suggested by Dufrenne, seems plausible.¹⁴

Folio 2. Upper text: Ps. 16:3b–8a/8b–13a, Unrestorable loss

Neither the Chludov nor the Bristol Psalter illustrates any part of the text found on the mutilated Pantokrator leaf. The Paris. gr. 20 is defective at this point.

Folio 4v. Upper text: Ps. 17:10b–15a, Christ riding above the world (Figs. 4–6)

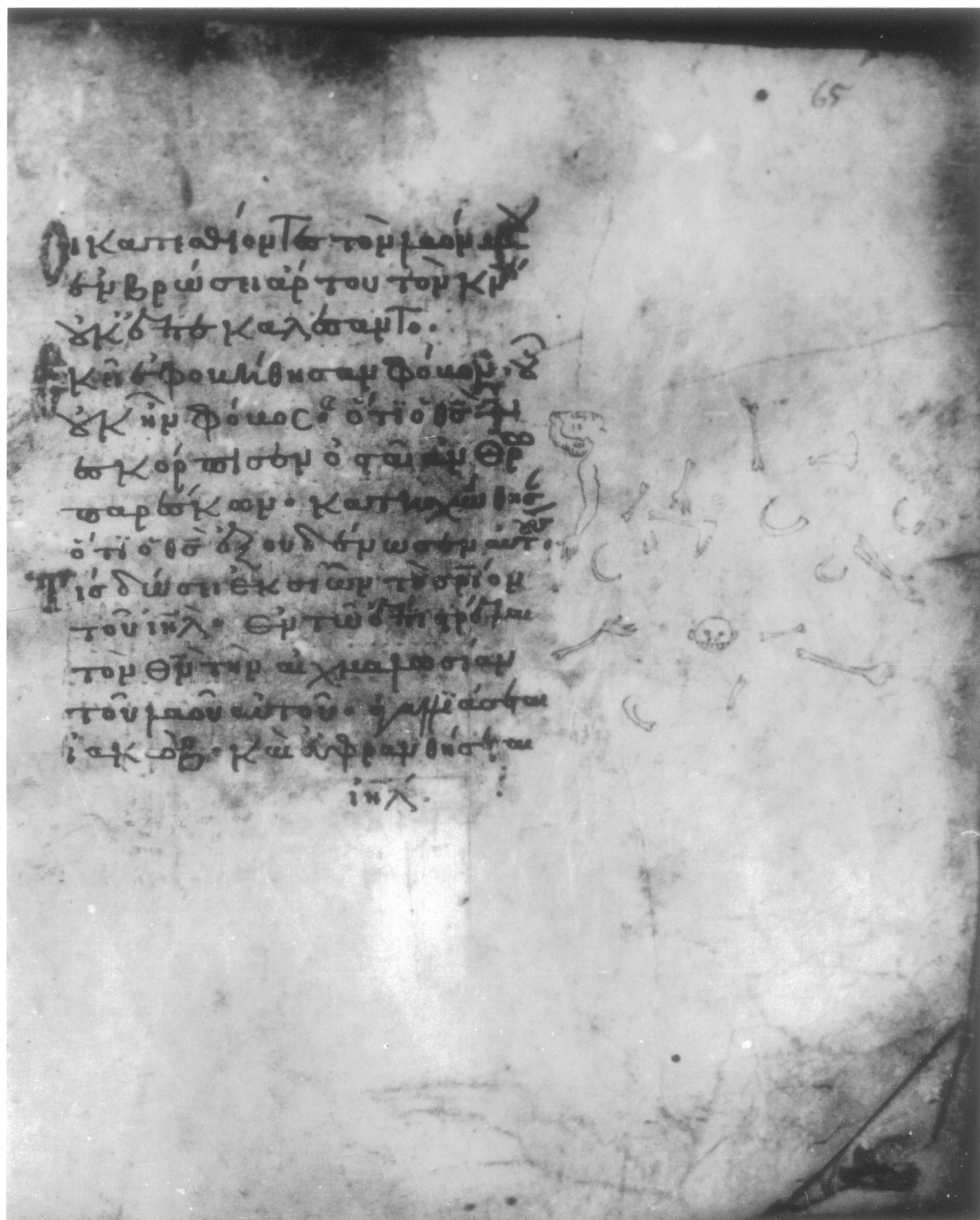
In the top right corner of folio 5, in the margin above the first line of text, appear two stains of the kind made by the ground used for gold leaf. Since no miniature was painted on the verso, the stains must have been caused by bleeding from the facing page,

¹¹Such ghosts result when the ground used under gold leaf bleeds through the parchment and becomes visible on the other side (see, e.g., Ch 87v, the haloes of Joseph and Nicodemus from the recto), but it can sometimes attack the facing sheet as well (see, e.g., Ch 89v, the halo and throne from fol. 90).

¹²Unrestorable losses and certain others will not be illustrated; tracings of the damage may be found in Anderson, “Palimpsest Psalter.”

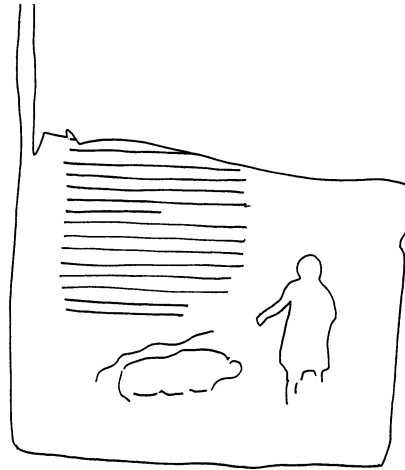
¹³Restored on the authority of the Barberini Psalter (B 14). The 11th-century Studite psalters—the Theodore and the Barberini—were produced from the same lost model (see C. Walter, “‘Latter-Day’ Saints in the Model for the London and Barberini Psalters,” *REB* 46 [1988], 211–15); the source of this Studite manuscript was the Chludov Psalter.

¹⁴Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 22.

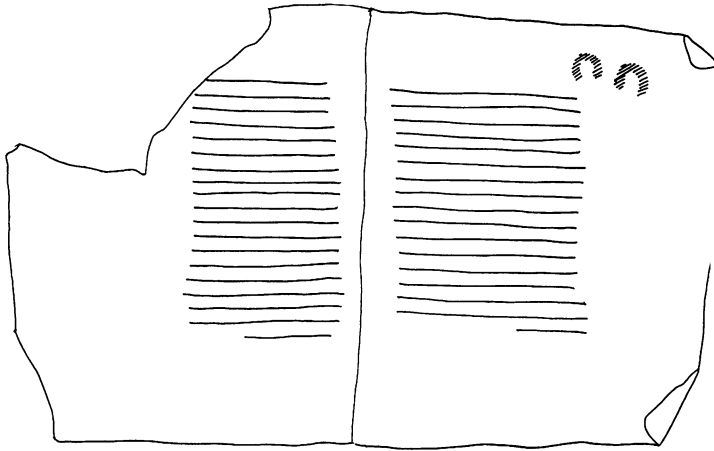


1 Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 65 (Ps. 52:6)

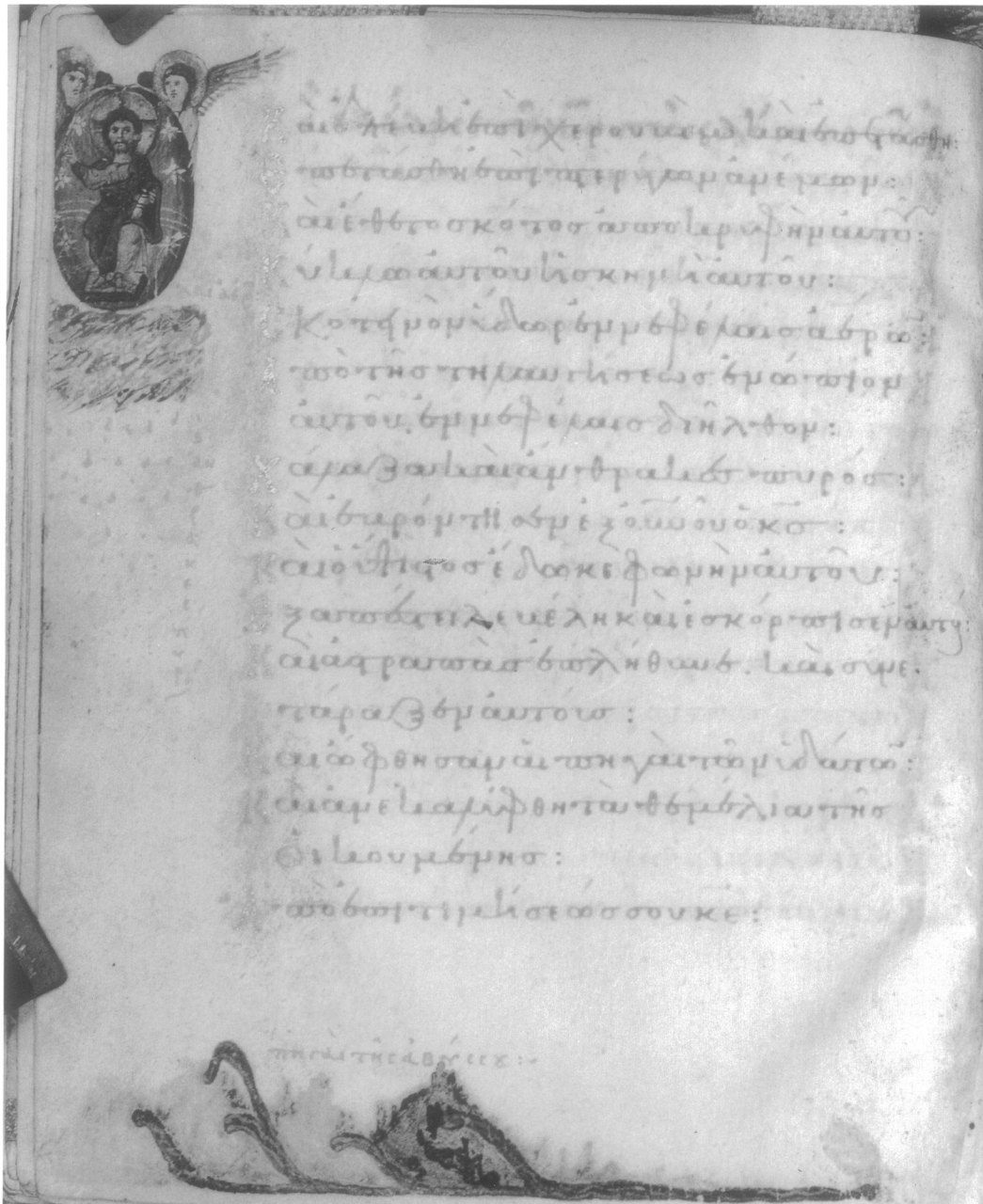
2 Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 21



3 Bristol Psalter, fol. 15v (Ps. 8:4–8) (photo: by permission of the British Library)



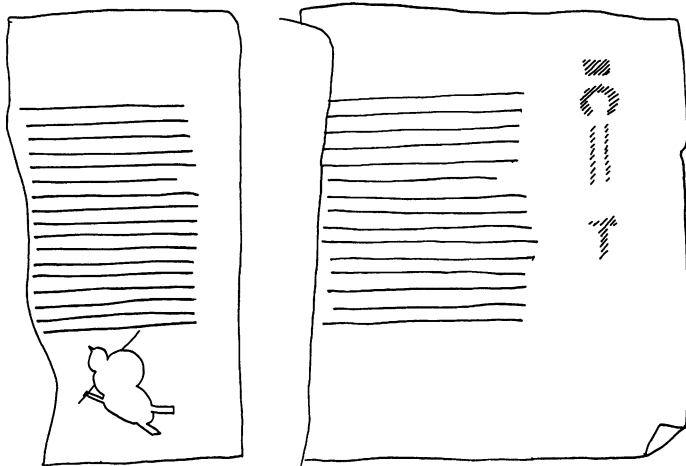
4 Pantokrator Psalter, fols. 4v–5



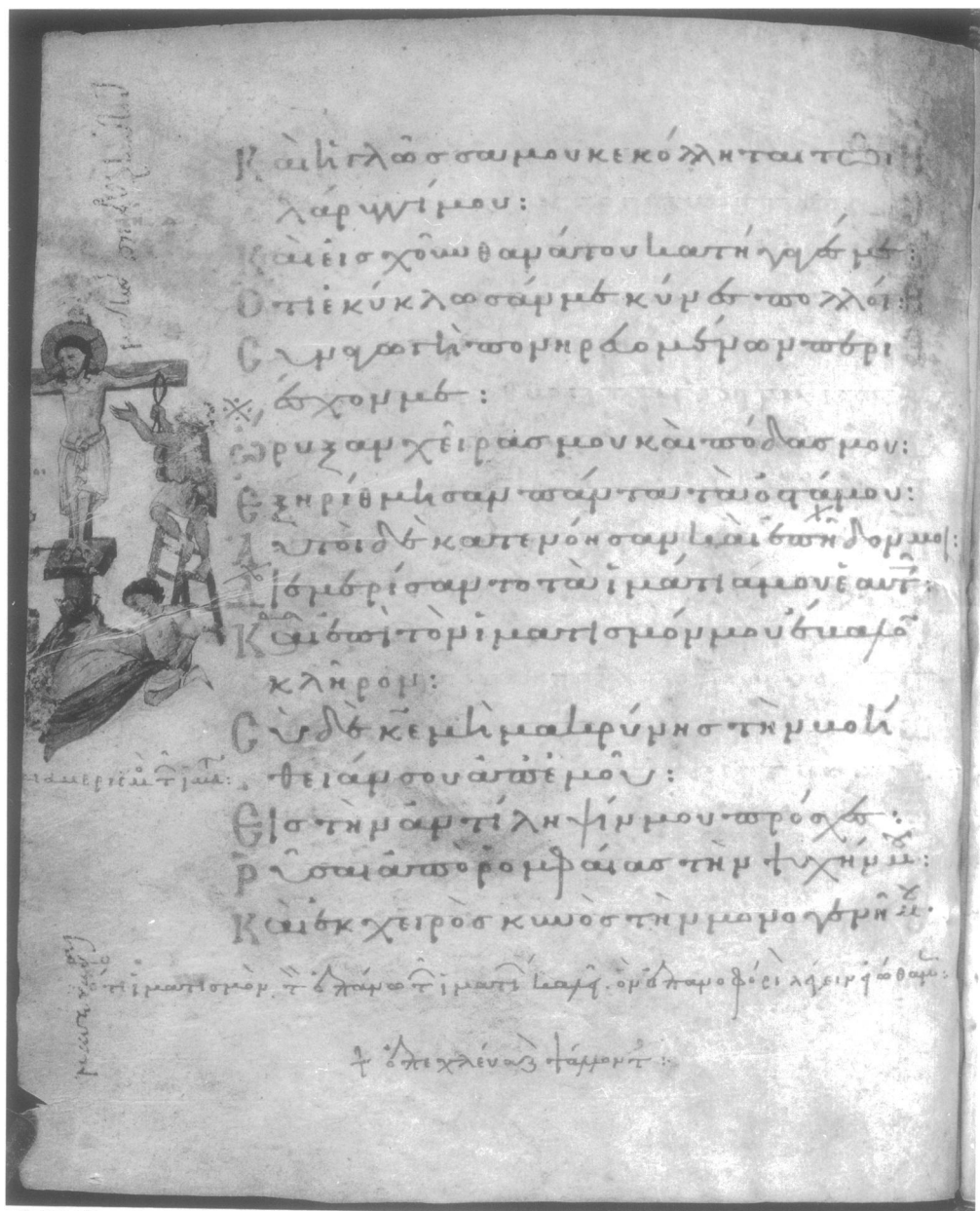
5 Bristol Psalter, fol. 27v (Ps. 17:11–13, 16) (photo: by permission of the British Library)



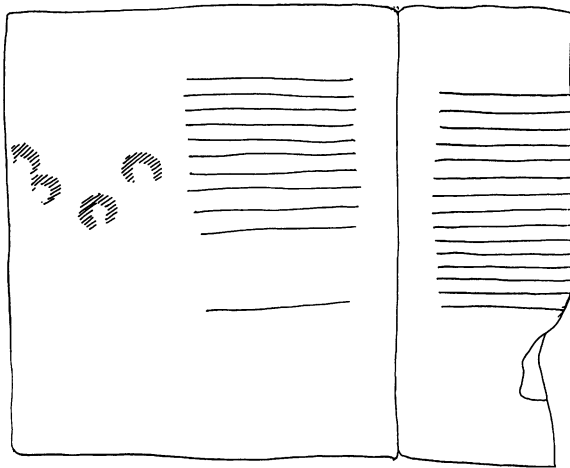
6 Chludov Psalter, fol. 14 (Ps. 17:11–13) (after Ščepkina, *Miniatiury*)



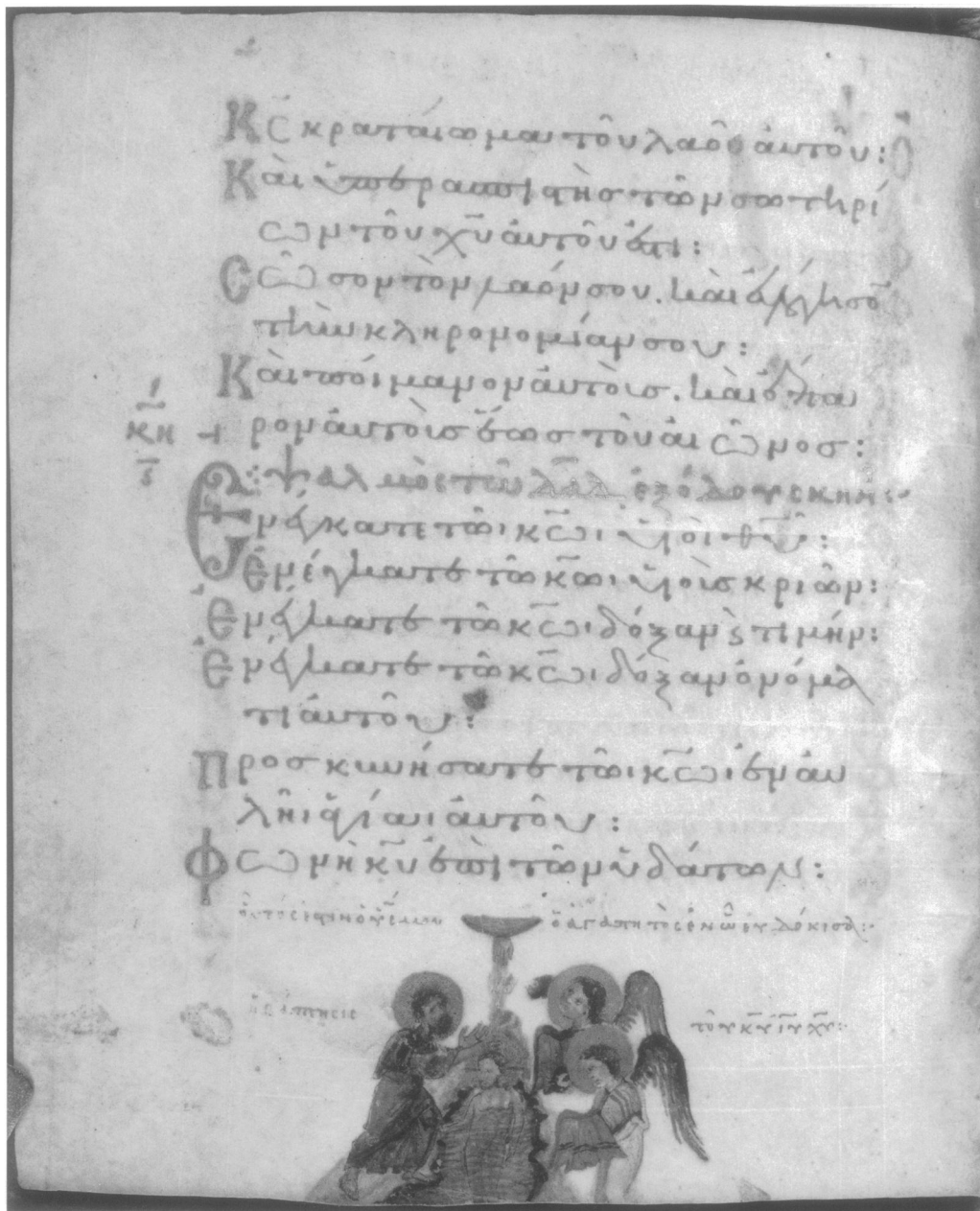
7 Pantokrator Psalter, fols. 11v-12



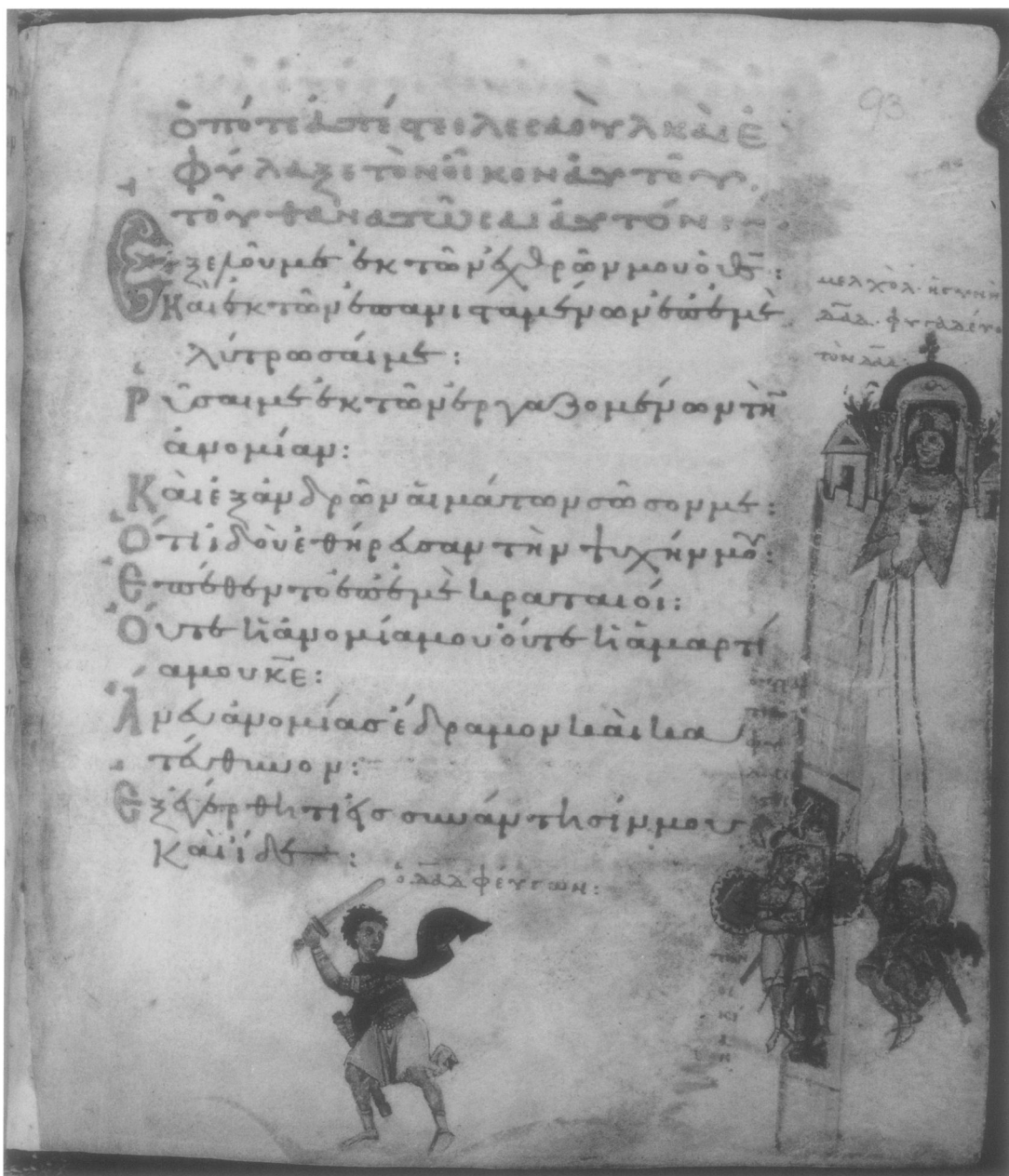
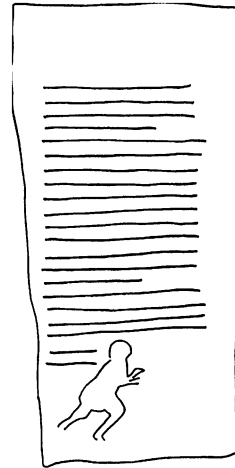
8 Bristol Psalter, fol. 35v (Ps. 21:17-22) (photo: by permission of the British Library)



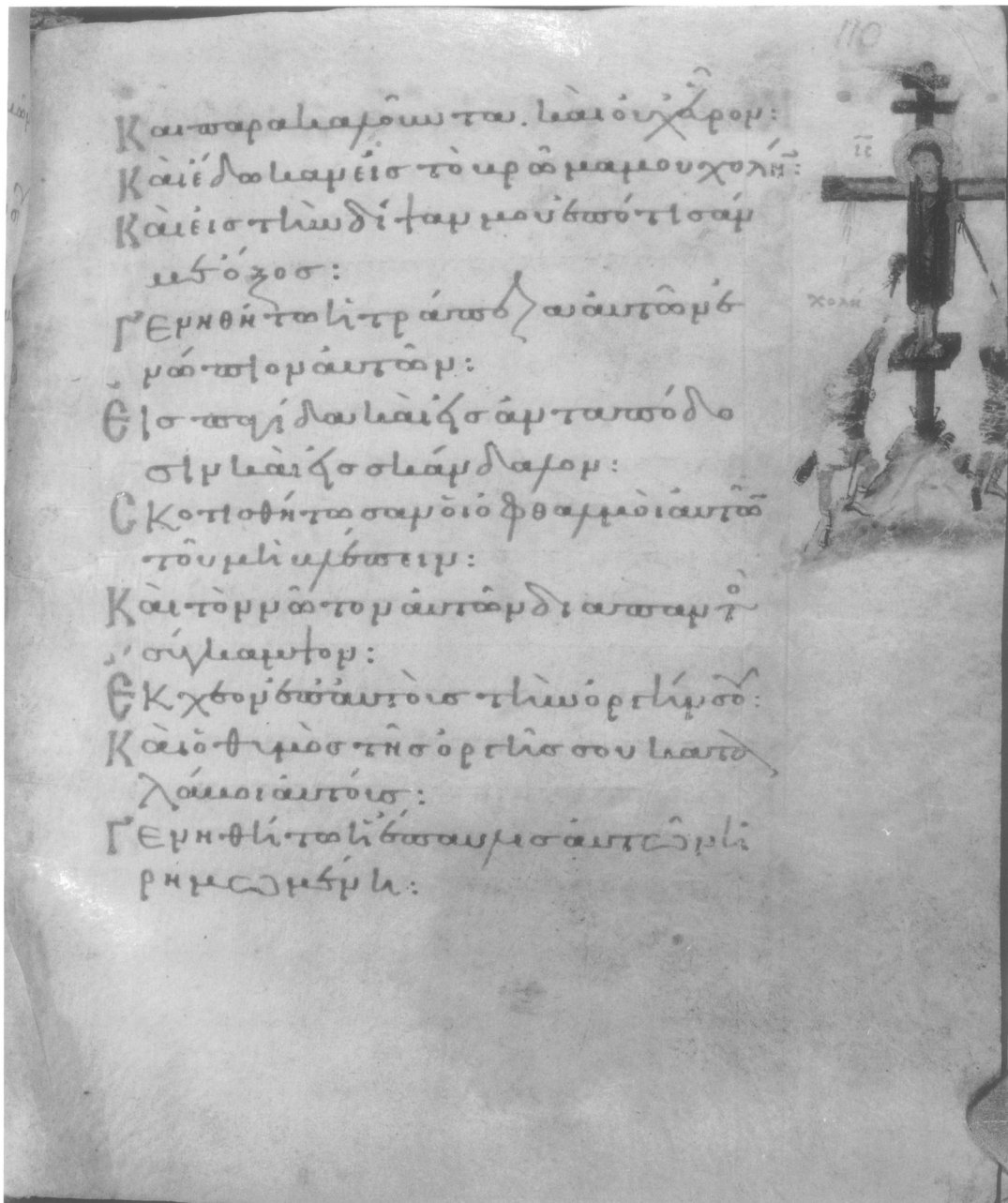
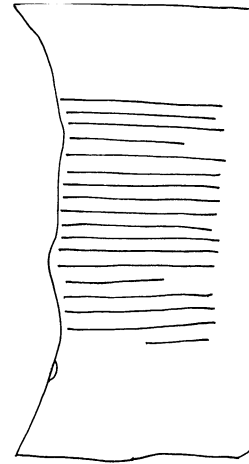
10 Pantokrator Psalter, fols. 19v–20



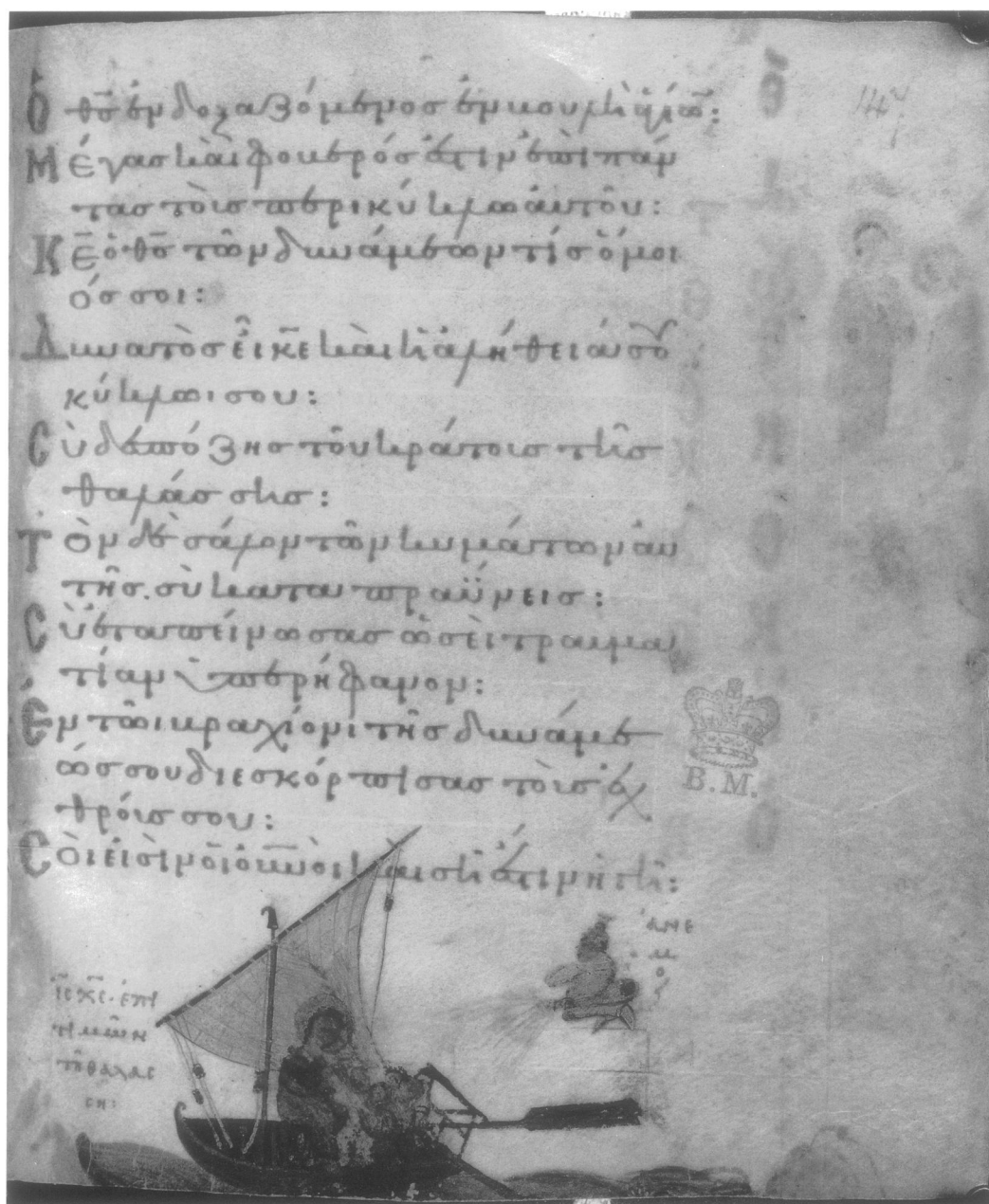
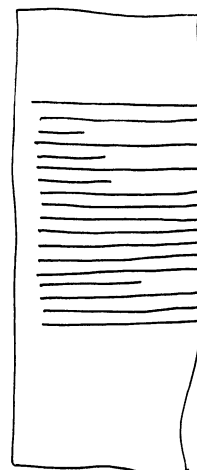
11 Bristol Psalter, fol. 44v (Ps. 28:3) (photo: by permission of the British Library)

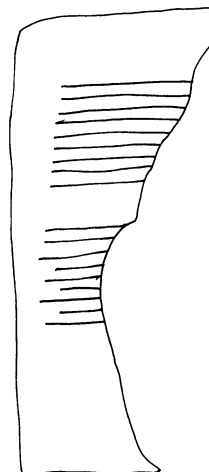


15 Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 88v



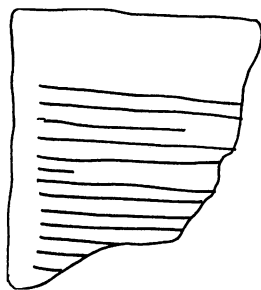
16 Bristol Psalter, fol. 110 (Ps. 68:22) (photo: by permission of the British Library)







23 Paris Fragment, fol. 4 (Ps. 95: Title) (after Omont, *Miniatures*)



24 Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 150

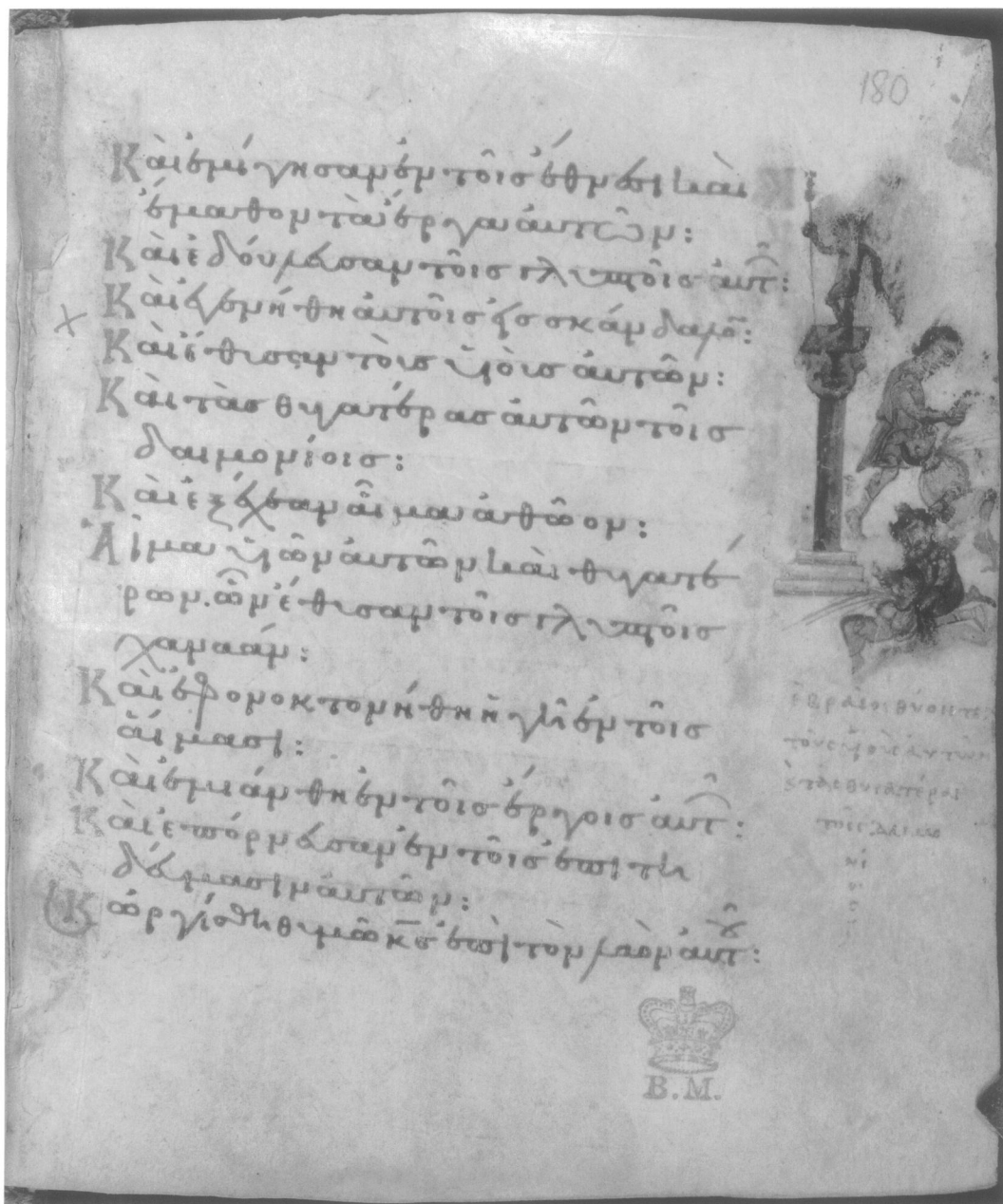
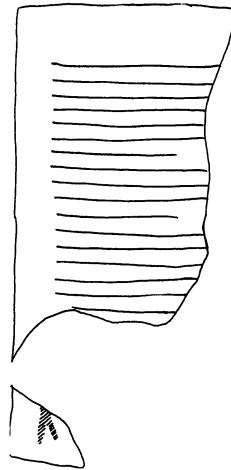
25 Bristol Psalter, fol. 174v (Ps. 104:18) (photo: by permission of the British Library)

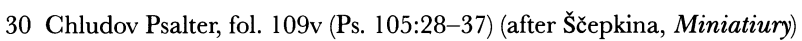


26 Chludov Psalter, fol. 106 (Ps. 104:17–23) (after Ščepkina, *Miniatiury*)



27 Paris Fragment, fol. 13v (Ps. 104:17–23) (after Omont, *Miniatures*)



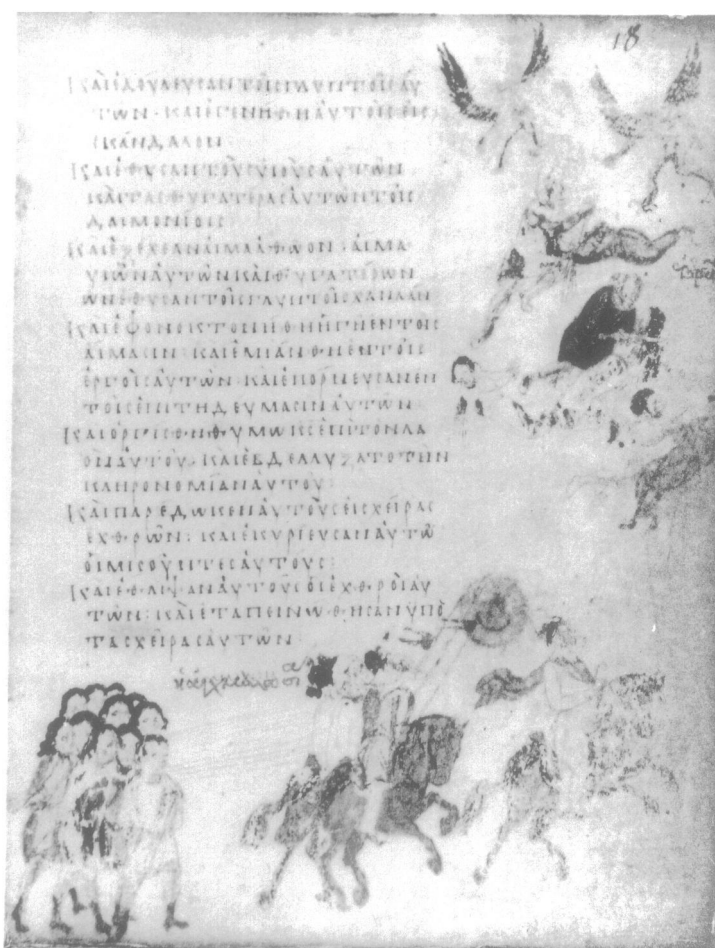


Καὶ ἐκ μύζα τοτῆν κληρονομίαν
 αὐτῶν:
 Καὶ παρίδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὅσυχῃ
 ρασὶ θρόνους:
 Καὶ ἐκτίδωκεν αὐτῶν οἰκιστοὺς
 τῶν αὐτοῖς:
 Καὶ ἐθλίψαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἔχθροί αὐτῶν:
 Καὶ ἐταπείνωσαν ὑπὸ τὰς
 χεῖρας αὐτῶν:
 Πλῆθος ἐβύρυσεν αὐτοῖς:
 ἄνθρωποι δὲ παρεπὶ κρανίον αὐτῶν
 ἐν τῇ οὐλῇ αὐτῶν:
 Καὶ ἐταπείνωσαν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀνομίαις αὐτῶν:
 Καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐν τῷ θλίψεσθαι αὐτῶν:
 ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἔσται ἡ δόξα
 ἐν τῇ σῶσει αὐτῶν:

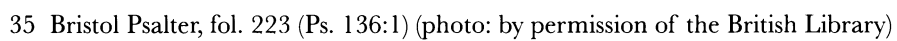




32 Chludov Psalter, fol. 110 (Ps. 105:38–41) (after Ščepkina, *Miniatiury*)

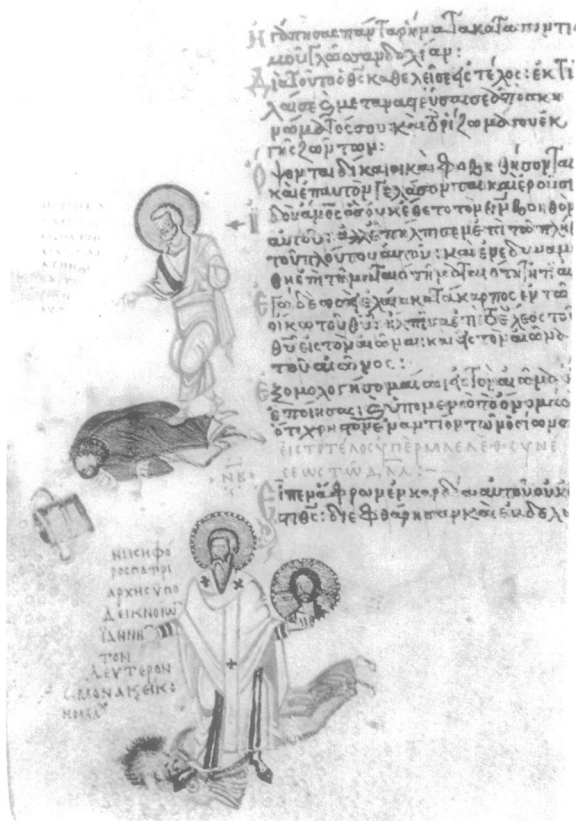


33 Paris Fragment, fol. 18 (Ps. 105:37–41)
(after Omont, *Miniatures*)





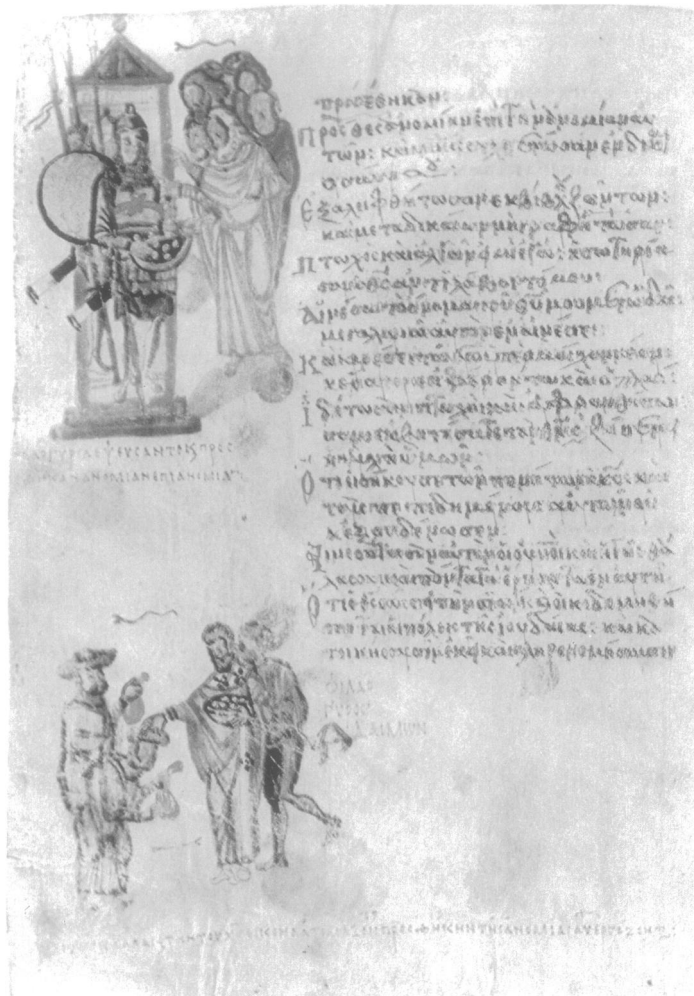
36 Chludov Psalter, fol. 135 (Ps. 136:1) (after Ščepkina, *Miniatiury*)



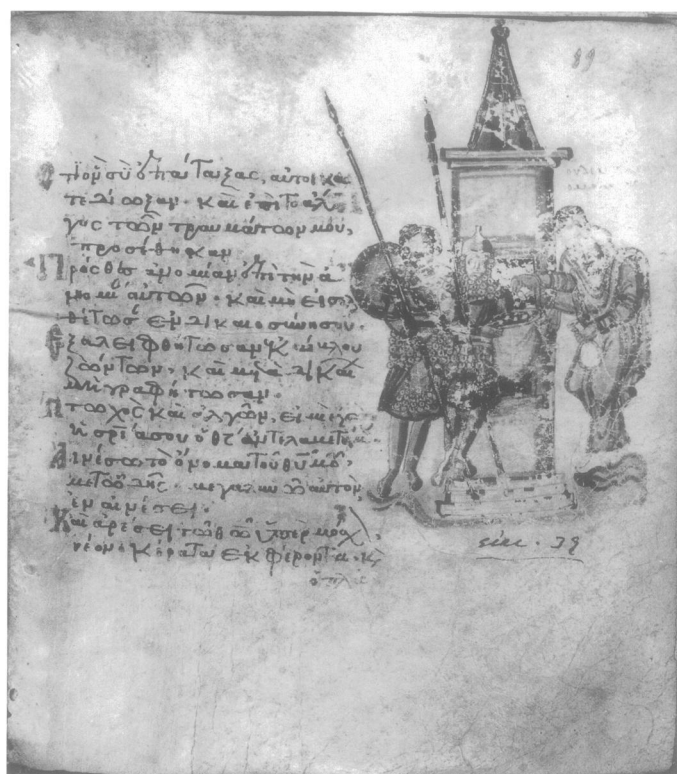
37 Chludov Psalter, fol. 51v (Ps. 51:8)
(after Ščepkina, *Miniatiury*)



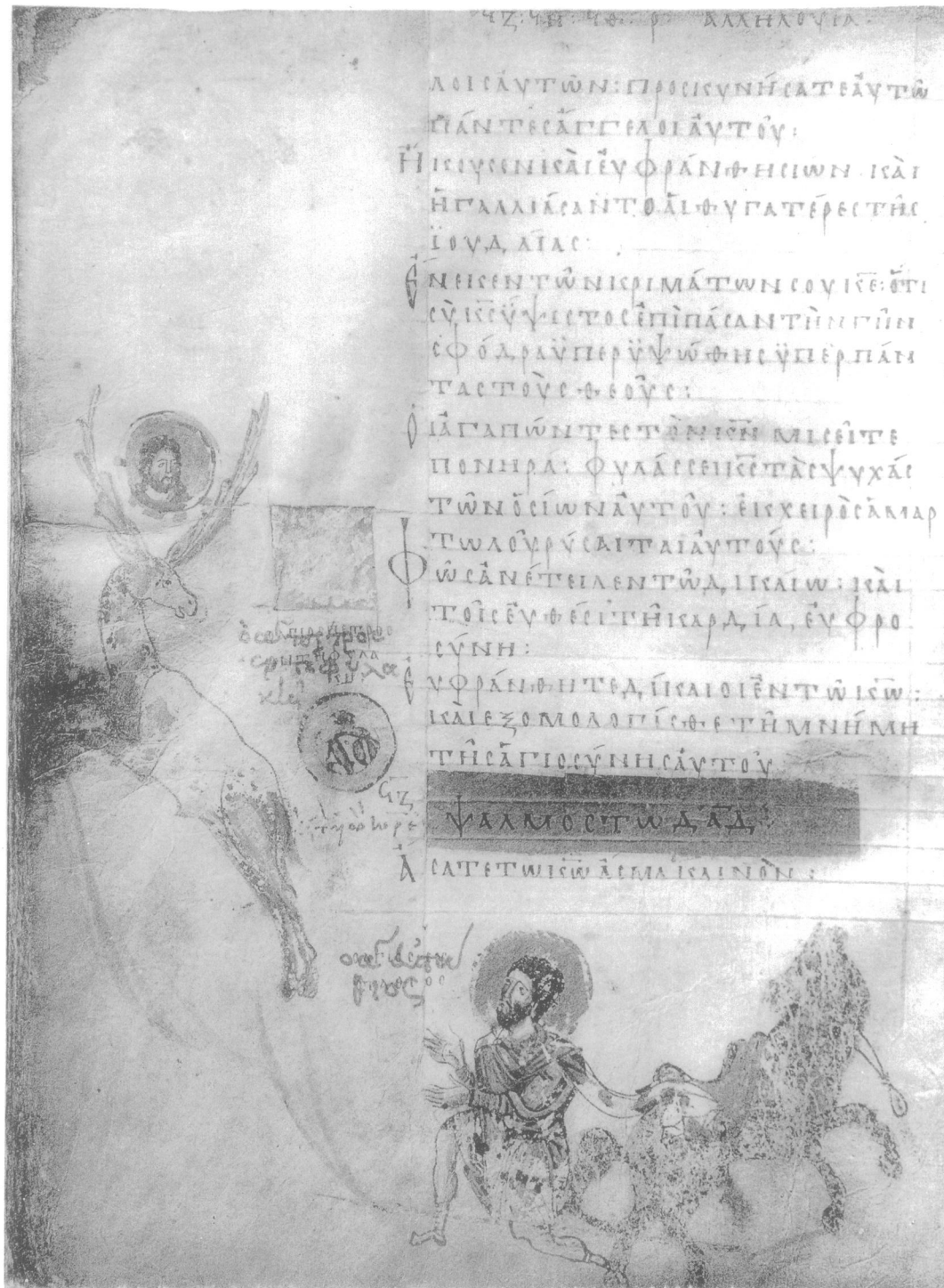
38 Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 6 (Ps. 51:8)
(photo: courtesy of the Byzantine
Museum, Athens)



39 Chludov Psalter, fol. 67v (Ps. 68:28-29)
(after Ščepkina, *Miniaturey*)



40 Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 89 (Ps. 68:28-29)
(photo: courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens)



41 Paris Fragment, fol. 5v (Ps. 96:11) (after Omont, *Miniatures*)

ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐν τοῖς ἐν
 διόλοις αὐτῶν. προσκύνῃ
 σαυτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι
 αὐτοῦ. ἡ κροῖστος καὶ ἡ εὐφρο
 θυήσιν αὐτῶν. καὶ ἡ γαλιλα
 σαυτοῦ αὐτῶν γαλιλαίου
 δαί. ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κριμα
 τῶν σου κί. ὅτι σὺ κὼ
 ψίτος ἐπὶ τῇ σαρτῶν γῆνι.
 ὁ φῶς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς θύρας.
 ὁ πᾶν τὰς τοῖς θεοῖς.
 ὁ γὰρ πᾶν τὸν κῆρ, μετὰ
 πορνείᾳ. φῶς αὐτῶν κέται
 ψυχὰς τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ.
 κχειρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν λῃσίων αὐτῶν.
 ὡς ἀμέτει λετῶν δικαίων.
 καὶ τοῖς λῃσίοις τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν.
 ὁ φῶς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ κῆρ.





43 Chludov Psalter, fol. 97v (Ps. 96:11) (after Ščepkina, *Miniatiury*)

folio 4, which has been trimmed at a point opposite the marks. The stains form two hollow circles only slightly separated from each other. The miniature in the Bristol Psalter shows that they were formed by the haloes of angels to either side of a mandorla containing Christ. The arrangement of the three figures in the Pantokrator Psalter was unlike that found in the Chludov Psalter, which followed a more literal reading (Ps. 17:11, "And he mounted on cherubs and flew"). The scene in the Bristol Psalter captures the sense of the psalmist's language predicting the destruction that will be wrought by an angry God. The size of the Pantokrator loss does not allow for much to have been represented beneath the mandorla other than possibly the cloud and fiery rain (Ps. 17:8–9) found in the Bristol Psalter. The Bristol Painter's illustration of the "springs from the depths" (as inscribed in Br) arguably represents an independent addition prompted by a phrase found later in the psalm (v. 16). The springs recall the illuminator's predilection for narrow verbal equivalents, expressed in the editing of miniatures and the addition of images.¹⁵

Folio 11v. Upper text: Ps. 21:17b–23a, Christ nailed to the cross(?); soldiers cast lots; lion(?)
(Figs. 7–9)

The entire side margin has been removed, but one of the soldiers casting lots for Christ's garment remains on the verso.¹⁶ On the facing leaf, folio 12, stains are visible from the inscription tablet, Christ's halo, and the gilt strips of his colobium. The tablet appears at roughly the level of the first line of text, and ghosts of the gold bands (which would run to Christ's feet) fall through the first third or half of the text on folio 12. The vertical arrangement of the stains means that the position of the cross in the Pantokrator Psalter was not like that in the Chludov. Two verses are illustrated: "they pierced my hands and my feet" (v. 17) and "they parted my garments among themselves, and cast lots upon my raiment" (v. 18). The Chludov Painter created an illusion in which the beholder stands well above the cross and looks down on the three executioners as they drive the nails. In the Pantokrator Psalter the cross was upright; so if the executioners were present, the spatial effect might have been less sophisticated. At first sight the Bristol Psalter confuses matters. From the Pantokrator miniature the Bristol Painter took over the upright position of the cross and the figures intent on dividing Christ's garment, and in so doing represented Christ stripped to a loincloth. A Byzantine, I believe, would have considered the subject in the Bristol Psalter to be the Deposition on the basis of the visual cues: Joseph of Arimathea stands on the ladder using pliers to extract a nail from one of Christ's hands, while Nicodemus, nearly lost when the outer margin was trimmed, kneels to work at Christ's feet.¹⁷ Dufrenne was reluctant to accept the Deposition as the subject,¹⁸ and possibly with good reason: Christ appears to be alive, and John and the Virgin, who

¹⁵S. Dufrenne, "Le psautier de Bristol et les autres psautiers byzantins," *CahArch* 14 (1964), 160–61, on this body of imagery.

¹⁶Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 21, relates the soldier to the gambling scene.

¹⁷G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos* (Paris, 1916), 466–88; a number of examples are illustrated as a consequence of the main theme of K. Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss (New York, 1961), 476–90.

¹⁸Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 56.

are usually present when the body is taken down, are missing. The Bristol margins were severely trimmed by a binder, but probably not so much as to cause the loss of two figures. Identifying the Pantokrator subject does not require solving the dilemma posed by the Bristol Painter's creation, only seeing through it to imagine what prompted the Bristol Painter's incomplete and unsatisfactory transformation of what he apparently took to be the Deposition.¹⁹ Since Christ was dressed in the long colobium in the Pantokrator miniature, the source was most likely an awkward version of the nailing.

The Bristol Painter illustrated verse 22 ("Save me from the lion's mouth") by representing a lion. The Chludov Psalter has no parallel, and it seems doubtful that the illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter would have had space for the lion, because the soldier gambling for Christ's garment is preserved at the bottom of the leaf. The lion may represent another of the Bristol Painter's highly focused additions to the cycle.

Folio 20. Upper text: Ps. 28:1b–5, Baptism (Figs. 10, 11)

A small patch of paint survives near the bottom of the cut on folio 20. On folio 19v are the ghosts of four haloes, falling in a pattern that clearly belongs to the Baptism: at the outer edge, the two angels; lower in the center, Christ; and higher, near the text, John the Baptist.²⁰ The set of haloes appears at about the middle of the text on folio 19v. The relevant leaf is lost from the Chludov Psalter, but the Baptism may be restored at this point in the text, as Dufrenne noted (cf. B 47v).²¹

Folio 61. Upper text: Pss. 48:21b–49:4, Solar chariot, David (preserved), Habakkuk(?) and Christ, and rising sun (preserved) (Br 80v, Ch 48v)

Remaining on the leaf is David, seated gesturing (toward the lost margin), as well as the rising sun, depicted beneath his feet. The rising sun also appears in the Chludov Psalter, at the bottom of the leaf; above it the Chludov Painter represented David and Habakkuk flanking a clipeate representation of Christ. The way the edge of the cut traces a circle above David's head suggests that the circular portrait of Christ also appeared in the Pantokrator Psalter, as observed by Corrigan.²² Whether Habakkuk was represented cannot be determined, though his presence seems likely.

Folio 72. Upper text: Ps. 57:8b–12, Snake(s) and charmer(?) (Br 92, Ch 56)

Near this point in the text (Ps. 57:5–6) the Chludov Psalter has a snake charmer and two snakes; the Bristol Painter represented one snake and no charmer at Ps. 57:5. The Bristol Painter's illustration looks more like an edited version of the Pantokrator miniature on folio 193 (two snakes at Ps. 139:4, "They have sharpened their tongue as the

¹⁹The 10th-century Deposition ivory at Dumbarton Oaks (K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III: *Ivories and Steatites* [Washington, D.C., 1972], pl. XL1) shows Nicodemus at Christ's feet using a hammer and chisel, visual cognates to the hammer and nails of the Chludov Crucifixion. The Chludov miniature has no inscription to guide the reader in interpreting the scene; perhaps the Pantokrator image was likewise uninscribed.

²⁰Anderson, "Palimpsest Psalter," fig. 5, illustrates the leaf.

²¹Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 22.

²²Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 70.

tongue of a serpent; the poison of asps is under their lips"). It is difficult to know which version better represents that of the Pantokrator. The upper text falls slightly ahead of the relevant passage, but folio 71v has no miniature and the upper text does not match precisely with the lower writing. The image of snake and charmer is among the small number of parallels that exist between the Latin Stuttgart Psalter and the first Byzantine psalters.²³ The parallel favors the presence of the snake charmer in the Pantokrator miniature, but does not require it. The miniature was likely lost as a consequence of the removal of the scene on the verso.

Folio 72v. Upper text: Ps. 58:1–6a, Michal lowers David as Saul threatens (Figs. 12–14)

The figure of David running to make his escape remains on the leaf. Lost from the side margin was a long image of Saul and his army entering the city as Michal lowers David over the walls, as noted by Dufrenne in 1966.²⁴ The Bristol (Ps. 58:1) and Chludov psalters confirm both subject and main lines of the composition. The Bristol Painter armed David.

Folio 88v. Upper text: Ps. 68:21b–26, Crucifixion (Figs. 15–17)

Toward the bottom of the leaf, some paint remains to verify the loss of a miniature from the margin, but there is not enough to tell what exactly was lost at this lower reach (part of Golgotha? a sandaled foot?). The Bristol and Chludov psalters agree in having the Crucifixion represented at Ps. 68:22. In both, Christ wears the colobium and Longinus stands by with the lance while Stephaton raises the sponge to Christ's lips. The Chludov Painter supplemented the Crucifixion with two iconoclasts whitewashing an icon, and it is this part that cannot be verified. The figures' absence from the Bristol Psalter is inconclusive, since the manuscript's illuminator omitted the miniatures with overtly anti-iconoclastic content. Depicting the act of effacement required the Chludov Painter to use much of the lower margin. The format of the Pantokrator Psalter differs from that of the Chludov (see comment on fol. 124, below); but even taking into account the difference in shape, there seem to be no grounds for assuming the presence of the iconoclasts below the Pantokrator Crucifixion. The issue will be clarified in the concluding remarks.

Folio 118v. John and Christ from the Visitation(?) (Ch 85)

The Chludov Psalter has the infants John the Baptist and Christ depicted in the Visitation. The miniature in the Pantokrator Psalter has been mutilated, possibly to remove the portraits of Christ and John; an analogy is provided by the removal, discussed above, of Christ's portrait from folio 61. The shape of the tear suggests that the infants would have been in the foreground, rather than above the cityscape, where they hover

²³ Stuttgart Psalter: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol. 23, fol. 69v (E. De Wald, *The Stuttgart Psalter* [Princeton, N.J., 1932]; and *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter: Bibl. Fol. 23, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart*, II [Stuttgart, 1968]). The parallels common to the Greek and Latin psalters are discussed by F. Mutherich, "Die Stellung der Bilder in der frühmittelalterlichen Psalterillustration," in *ibid.*, 163–202, and Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 8–13.

²⁴ Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 26.

in the Chludov Psalter. The Bristol Painter did not paint the Visitation, and his decision leaves the matter in the air, as perhaps impossible to verify.

Folio 124. Upper text: Ps. 88:8b–12, Christ calms the waters (Figs. 18–20)

Folio 124 is an instance in which the size and shape of the loss do not readily conform to the combined testimony of the Chludov and Bristol psalters (Ps. 88:10), both of which show a seascape across the lower margin. The Pantokrator loss is confined to the side margin of the leaf (likely removed to obtain the Transfiguration on the verso). The nearly square proportions of the Pantokrator Psalter recall those of an early codex, though the text block is a narrow rectangle of medieval shape.²⁵ So wide were the margins that they swallowed up complex subjects like the Raising of Lazarus (Pk 29), the *Metadosis* (Pk 37), Woman at the Well (Pk 42v), Execution of the Four Kings (Pk 115v), Miracle of the Quail and Manna (Pk 151v), and others. It is not unreasonable to imagine the scene of Christ calming the wind and waters fitted into the side margin near the verse it illustrated. A pocket manuscript like the Bristol Psalter would require the subject either to be placed in the lower margin, since the top margins were designed too small to allow miniatures, or to be modified. (See the modification of the Execution of the Four Kings, Br 139; as well as the instructive example of how the Chludov Painter condensed the same subject, Ch 83.)

Folio 124v. Upper text: Ps. 88:13–17a, Metamorphosis (Br 147v, Ch 88v)

A trace of paint appears on the verso near the cut. A tall version of the Metamorphosis appears similarly composed in both the Chludov and Bristol psalters (Ps. 88:13). The same subject was likely represented in the Pantokrator Psalter at this point.

Folio 131. Upper text: Pss. 90:11b–91:2a/2b–8a, Unrestorable loss

The Bristol Painter did not illustrate any of the verses retraced on this leaf. At Ps. 91:11 (“But my horn shall be exalted as the horn of the unicorn”), the Chludov Painter represented a clipeate image of Christ (presumed from the circular excision) above a woman seated with a unicorn. The same subject, though without Christ, appears in the Pantokrator Psalter at Ps. 77:69 (“And he built his sanctuary as the place of unicorns”), where the Chludov has David’s anointing. In these circumstances it does not seem possible to say what illustration the Pantokrator Psalter had on folio 131, since it is unlikely that the woman with the unicorn would have been represented twice.

Folio 136. Upper text: Pss. 94:4b–[95:3], David in prayer(?); construction scene (Figs. 21–23)

At the top of folio 96, near the final verses of Ps. 94, the Chludov Painter represented David in proskynesis, at about the point where the Paris Fragment apparently showed him standing to pray (P 4, damaged). Bristol provides no parallel for this or the next miniature presumed to be lost.

²⁵ Entire leaves have been reproduced in Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, pls. 30 (Pk 212), 33 (Pk 222); Anderson, “Palimpsest Psalter,” fig. 1 (Pk 209).

For the title of Ps. 95 (“When the house was built after the captivity”), the Chludov Painter represented a magnificent scene of construction that fills the entire side margin and much of the lower one as well. The Pantokrator loss allows for a composition that could inhabit somewhat less of the lower margin (see comment on fol. 124, above). An image of workmen setting columns also appears in the Paris Fragment. Although inspired by the same source, the Chludov and Paris representations are different, and therefore show that the illuminators had freedom when reproducing subjects not precisely determined by either tradition or the dictates of the text.

Folio 139v. Upper text: Ps. 98:[1b]–7a, Cross and priests(?) (Ch 98)

Bristol contains no miniature for the text on the Pantokrator leaf, but at Ps. 98:5 (“worship at his [the Lord’s] footstool”) the Chludov Painter depicted an empty cross raised on a hill; and below it, in illustration of Ps. 98:6, he represented Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, each named in the passage. The Paris Fragment (P 6v) shows the empty cross but not Moses and the priests. The size of the Pantokrator loss suggests the presence of more than the cross.

Folio 149v. Upper text: Ps. 104:11–17, Joseph sold into slavery (Br 174v, Ch 106, P 13v)

In the bottom margin of folio 174v the Bristol Painter represented Joseph sold into slavery by his brothers (Ps. 104:17, “Joseph was sold for a slave”). Similarly composed miniatures appear in the Chludov Psalter and the Paris Fragment (P 13v). The figure of Joseph was the object of the removal, for the brothers remain on the sheet, where the inscription identifies the scene as “Joseph consumed by fire,” a reference to Ps. 104:20 (“the Lord tried him as fire”). The loss has been noted by Dufrenne.²⁶

Folio 150. Upper text: Ps. 104:18–[24a], Joseph released; Jacob arrives in Egypt (Figs. 24–27)

The Bristol Psalter leaf has suffered loss from binding. At the top of the right margin, a soldier passively attends a young man who gestures in speech toward a lost figure. The missing figure is Pharaoh, who was probably enthroned since the verse requires him to exercise power (Ps. 104:20, “The king sent and loosed him . . . and let him go free”). The Chludov Psalter contains no parallel, but the Paris Fragment does: Joseph stands before a ruler on folio 13v, the scene immediately following his sale to the Ishmaelites. In the Bristol miniature that follows (Ps. 104:23), Jacob was depicted arriving in Egypt. For this episode the Chludov Psalter offers a parallel: at the left Jacob and his family enter in a cart as Joseph, enthroned and dressed as a lord of Egypt, gives an order to a man carrying arms. The Bristol composition, now badly damaged, must have been relatively elaborate, and more so than the Chludov miniature; the loss means that the presence of Joseph seated cannot be confirmed for the Pantokrator Psalter.

Folio 150v. Upper text: Ps. 104:24b–[30], Plagues of Egypt (Br 175v–176, Ch 106v–107)

Folio 151 of the Pantokrator Psalter contains traces of images relevant to the plagues of Egypt: flies, trees, grasshoppers, caterpillars, and first-born animals and men. The

²⁶ Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 33.

preserved references can be compared with those on folios 175v and 176 of the Bristol Psalter. Missing from the Pantokrator are the waters and frogs, which are not only in the Bristol but also the Chludov Psalter; the relevant leaf of the Paris Fragment (P 14) has been mutilated, but it bears some similarities to the Chludov. The Chludov Psalter also has the confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh depicted before the start of the plagues; the absence of the subject from the Bristol Psalter leaves its presence in the Pantokrator in question.

Folio 154. Upper text: Ps. 105:35b–[40], Child sacrifice (Figs. 28–30)

At Ps. 105:37 the Bristol Painter represented men sacrificing children at the base of a pagan statue. The sacrifice agrees with the versions in the Chludov Psalter and the Paris Fragment (P 18) with the exception of the column, which belongs to the worship of Baal in a preceding miniature (and which is a cliché of Byzantine art by the eleventh century).

Folio 154. Lower margin: Captive Hebrews (Figs. 31–33)

The composition in the Bristol Psalter, which shows a soldier on horseback using a rope to lead a group of Hebrew prisoners of war, finds a close parallel in the Paris Fragment (P 18). Dufrenne notes a trace of a horse's tail on the Pantokrator leaf and suggests that the Hebrews taken captive had been represented; this suggestion was endorsed by Corrigan.²⁷ The scene in the Chludov Psalter is not the same; on folio 110 a battle was represented in illustration of Ps. 105:41. Since the Paris Fragment and the Pantokrator Psalter, by inference from the Bristol, are aligned, it follows that the Chludov Painter changed the subject to a battle. In fact, he seems to have chosen to show the scene of captive prisoners of war elsewhere, at folio 78v, in illustration of Ps. 77:60 ("And he gave their strength into captivity"); Ps. 77:60 is preserved, but without illustration, in the Pantokrator Psalter.

Folio 169. Upper text: Ps. 117:15–[22a], Gates of Heaven(?) (Ch 119v)

The Bristol Psalter has no scene for the text on this leaf. In the Chludov Psalter, Ps. 117:20 was illustrated by the Gates of Heaven, painted in the side margin from the top of the leaf down to the last line of text. Mutilation is the only sign that a miniature might have been present.

Folio 189. Upper text: Ps. 135:19–26a, By the river of Babylon (Figs. 34–36)

The Chludov and Bristol psalters (Ps. 136:1) have a similar version of the Hebrews lamenting by the river of Babylon: a seated male figure represents the source of the river, which flows down from the margin along the lower edge of the leaf; the captors stand with a tree at their backs, and one gestures to the seated figures. The way the leaf was torn may mean that part of the miniature rose into the side margin, as does the example in the Chludov Psalter. The version in the Paris Fragment (P 40v) has the personification

²⁷Ibid., 34; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 36.

of the spring high in the margin and the waters flowing down, another composition that would require extensive damage to the folio in order to remove the miniature intact.

Folio 198. Upper text: Pss. 143:4b–144:10a/10b–14a, Unrestorable loss

Neither the Chludov nor the Bristol Psalter has a scene illustrating the text on this leaf. The strip lost from the margin appears to be too narrow to accommodate much more than a figure or two.

The evidence can be summarized for convenience. Of the nineteen leaves that were trimmed, only two (fols. 2 [Ps. 16:3b–13a] and 198 [Pss. 143:4b–144:14a]) have psalm text that neither the Chludov nor the Bristol Painter illustrated. For one other loss (fol. 131 [Pss. 90:11b–91:8a]), the available parallel is not germane. Otherwise, deducing the subjects of the excised miniatures seems relatively straightforward, although doubt surrounds a number of individual points. But we would never expect to infer accurately the appearance of the lost compositions. The evidence provided by the related manuscripts confirms the original hypothesis: the margins were cut to obtain images. The other losses that the manuscript has suffered are entire leaves and gatherings. Leaving aside the four sheets kept in St. Petersburg after Porphirii Uspenskii removed them from the psalter, there are fifteen separate lacunae (counting the defective beginning), some consisting of more than one leaf.²⁸ Judging by the preserved sections and the leaves discussed here, many of the lost sheets contained miniatures. But without the testimony offered by damage confined to margins, their reconstruction proves to be speculative. What we know of the manuscript permits some final remarks.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHLUDOV PSALTER AND THE PARIS FRAGMENT

Success in recapturing the circumstances in which the first psalters were created depends on the ability to exploit a range of evidence, including the Septuagint text, the apparatus supporting the reader's use of the text, the styles of handwriting and miniature painting, and literary parallels for select illustrations. Relative content must also figure in the discussion. Ironically, confirmation of what was *not* illustrated in the Pantokrator manuscript forms an important part of its reconstruction. Here I examine ways in which the earliest psalters differ slightly in content, and, on the basis of select differences, draw some modest conclusions regarding the manuscripts' relative dates of creation.²⁹ The background for discussion remains the degree to which the manuscripts were similarly illustrated. Miniatures cited in the study of losses at Pss. 58, 88, 104, and 135 (Figs. 12–14, 18–20, 24–27, 34–36) stand as a reminder of the kinds of parallels that have prompted art historians to puzzle over the history of three works obviously related but just as clearly unique.

²⁸L[acuna] 1, Pss. 1:1–8:3; L2, Pss. 14:2–16:3a; L3, Pss. 17:27–19:3; L4, Ps. 20:4b–14a; L5, Pss. 21:32–22:6; L6, Pss. 40:1–41:6a; L7, Pss. 43:21b–44:5a; L8, Pss. 45:5b–46:3a; L9, Pss. 49:21b–50:6; L10, Pss. 50:19–51:7; L11, Pss. 58:15–59:7a; L12, Pss. 63:11–65:15a; L13, Ps. 71:6b–16a; L14, Pss. 79:13–80:3; L15, Ps. 105:9b–23a.

²⁹Much of the relevant bibliography is cited here in notes 1, 2, 4, 15, 23, 38, and 39.

To attempt a comparison of the three early psalters is to confront the obstacle posed by the Paris Fragment. It opens with Ps. 91 and runs to Ps. 136, and even within these limits a number of leaves have been lost or damaged. What remains can be compared with the others to establish several points. One, which has been long recognized, is that the first known marginal psalters share an extensive body of subjects, some of them unusually complicated.³⁰ Enough of the Paris manuscript remains to know that the Chludov Psalter was the most densely illustrated of the three; it contains a large number of subjects without parallel in the Pantokrator Psalter or the Paris Fragment.³¹ It is also possible to suggest that the Pantokrator Psalter was the most sparsely illustrated of the three. The Pantokrator Psalter lacks six of the subjects common to the Paris Fragment and the Chludov Psalter; given the limitations of the evidence, the number of fewer miniatures, though small, is noteworthy. For the next step to be taken it does not matter whether the core of common scenes is explained by imagining an illuminator who retained the imagery in his memory or by positing an illustrated manuscript that was passed around and adapted. Scenes have been added and taken away to satisfy a patron's taste or his view of the didactic role of the illustrated psalter.

³⁰The Chludov and Pantokrator psalters measured against the Paris Fragment:

<i>Ps.</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Ch</i>	<i>Pk</i>
94:7	3v	—	—
95:Title	4	96	[Rest 163]
95:10	4v	96v	137
96:11	5v	97v	138*
98:5	6v	98v*	[Rest 139v]
98:9	7	—	140*
101:26, 27	9	101v	—
102:3	9v	101v	144
103:2–4	11	102v (at 102:20)	—
103:17	12	104	—
104:9	13	105v	151v (at 104:12)
104:17–22	13v	106*	[Rest 149v]
104:29–30	14	106v*	[Rest 150]
104:36	14v	107*	151
104:39–41	15	107	151v
105:9–11	16	108	Lacuna
105:17–20	16v	108v	Lacuna
105:28–30	17v	109v	153r–v
105:37–41	18	110*	[Rest 154]
106:13–14	19v	[Rest = B 187]	—
106:19–20	20	[Rest = B 187v]	—
108:1, 8	23	113	—
109:4	25	115	Petrop 4v*
113:3, 5	26v	117	164v
113:12–16	27	117	165*
131:6	37	131v*	184v*
136:1	40v	135	[Rest 189]

— = no miniature, no lacuna (i.e., verified as unillustrated)

* = generally agrees, but with differences, some significant

Rest = subject lost but restored with help of related sources

³¹Exactly how many will depend on an accurate description of the Paris Fragment. Over the text under consideration the subjects possibly added by the Chludov Painter are on fols. 96v (Ps. 95:5, demons), 100v (Ps. 101:7, 14), 102v (Ps. 102:15–17), 103 (Ps. 103:5–6), 114 (Ps. 109:1), 116 (Ps. 111:9), 116v (Ps. 113:3), 132 (Ps. 131:7, cf. B 223), 133 (Ps. 134:6–7).

The state of the Paris Fragment confounds our attempt to take the next step, which would be to identify thematic differences among all three manuscripts. Since it is impossible to generate the patterns from the complete cycles, an alternative method is required to advance our understanding of the issues. As the alternative, I propose a hypothetical history of the manuscripts that can be tested against the evidence available. This history begins at the creation of a cycle of exegetical images and holds that the cycle is most accurately reflected in the miniatures of the Paris Fragment. Although an accurate copy might have been produced at any time, there is no compelling reason for not giving the Paris manuscript chronological precedence over the other two. The Chludov Painter took over virtually the entire cycle known to the illuminator of Paris. gr. 20; to the cycle, the Chludov Painter added various subjects, many of them prompted by miniatures in the source itself. The illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter worked from the same cycle to which he added little that can be verified as original;³² he did, however, substantially reduce the number of miniatures in the cycle. Both the Chludov Painter and the illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter worked at some distance from the issues that prompted the cycle's invention, and the most direct way to account for such distance is in terms of time. The working methods underlying the hypothesis can be confirmed with the help of other psalter manuscripts. The eleventh-century Bristol Painter created a new, unified set of illustrations by doing little other than omitting miniatures present in his model. Theodore, the eleventh-century Studite monk, virtually reinvented the cycle by adding subjects.³³ These methods of editing were in use, I would claim, in the tenth century.

Several groups of miniatures offer a means of testing the plausibility of the proposed history. A group that seems well suited is the double glosses. Most of the subjects in the psalters are individual entities, a portrait or narrative moment that appears near a line of text. Psalm 104, for example, calls upon the reader to praise God for his wondrous works, which are enumerated: Joseph sold as a slave, made lord over his house, and so on. The illuminator depicted in succession the individual episodes from the story of Joseph cited in the text (Figs. 26, 27). When the psalmist (Ps. 88:9) speaks of God's ruling "the power of the sea" and calming "the tumult of its waves," the illustrators respond with Christ in a boat calming the water (Fig. 20). The images, unmediated by the commentator's "this means that" or "the significance of this is," establish a framework that effaces temporal distinctions to reveal the clarity of the divine plan. The double glosses exploit the framework for the sake of comprehending recent history. In creating them an illuminator joined two subjects to a single verse. Often he made the subjects mirror each other in composition (Fig. 39), or created a powerful visual link between them (Fig. 17). The repetitive quality of the depictions announces a view of history in which the uniqueness of events is sacrificed in order to reveal fundamental patterns.

Six double glosses are scattered throughout the best preserved of the early marginal psalters, the Chludov. One has already come up briefly in the context of a problem of

³²The one illustration not in the Paris Fragment (Pk 141v) is found in the Chludov Psalter (Ch 100) at the same passage, Ps. 101:Title. See note 38 for two noteworthy subjects not found in either the Paris Fragment or the Chludov Psalter.

³³J. Anderson, "On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter," *ArtB* 70 (1988), 559–65.

restitution (Pk 88v; Fig. 17).³⁴ Three others yield particularly valuable information; they occur at Pss. 51, 68, and 96 (Figs. 37–43). In the first example (Figs. 37, 38), St. Peter, walking on the back of Simon Magus, illustrates the verse “Behold the man who made not God his help; but trusted in the abundance of his wealth, and strengthened himself in his vanity” (Ps. 51:8). From Simon’s overturned purse, coins rain over the ground. To this extent both the Pantokrator and the Chludov agree, but the illuminator of the Chludov Psalter presented another level of interpretation: Patriarch Nikephoros holds an icon as he steps on Patriarch John the Grammarian, who has dropped his bag, spilling its contents. In the second example (Figs. 39, 40), a group of Jews bribing the guards placed by Pilate at Christ’s tomb (Matt. 28:11–15) illustrates Ps. 68:28–29 (“Add iniquity to their iniquity; and let them not come into thy righteousness”). Below the biblical scene the illuminator of the Chludov Psalter painted another. In it an iconoclast bishop takes money from a man whose head he touches in blessing; the inscription indicates that the money represents payment for “dishonor[ing] the image of Christ.”³⁵ The Pantokrator Psalter lacks the iconoclast component. The final double gloss occurs at Ps. 96:11 (“Light is sprung up for the righteous”), where the Chludov Psalter and the Paris Fragment show an icon of Christ suspended between the antlers of a stag (Figs. 41–43); the icon is the source of divine light for Sts. Peter and Eustathios. The illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter did not represent Peter.

Each of the doublets has the same structure. The psalm verse was given a typological significance that seems unremarkable: an event from Christ’s life or from the Apostolic era stands as fulfillment of the words of the prophet David. The apparently conventional interpretation served to anchor a second one that boldly extended the parallel in time, to the second century (Eustathios), sometime in the iconoclastic era, or the year 815, when Patriarch Nikephoros triumphed over John the Grammarian in a debate.³⁶ The differences between the Chludov and Pantokrator psalters are uniform: the Pantokrator contains only one subject. The question is: which version is closer to the hypothesized original cycle? The answer reflects with unusual clarity on the nature of the original cycle and its genesis. For the solution I cite three categories of proof.

³⁴Double glosses in the three psalters:

<i>Ps.</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Ch</i>	<i>Pk</i>	<i>Subject</i>
51:9	L	51v	64*	Simon and Peter/John and Nikephoros
55:Title	L	54v	68v	arrest of David/arrest of Christ
68:22	L	67	[88v]	Stephaton and Christ/iconoclasts and Christ
68:28	L	67v	89*	Jews bribe guards/men bribe bishop
96:11–12	5v	97v	138*	Christ illuminates Peter/Christ illuminates Eustathios
123:6	L?	[B 218v]	182	David and lions/Panteleimon and leopard

L = lacuna; * = truncated

³⁵The Chludov inscription is damaged and impossible to read from the facsimile; it begins with “Simoni-acs” and ends, after the loss of several words, with “they dishonor the image of Christ [and] earn the wages of their unlawfulness.” A discrepancy seems to exist between the inscription and the miniature, but it is hard to tell if this conclusion makes too much out of sloppiness or if an explanation is actually demanded; for commentary, see J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (repr. Soest, 1975), 81–82; Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 287–88; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 29–30. Are we to take “simony” according to its modern usage or as merely meaning “bribery”?

³⁶C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 243, citing as evidence of the debate a remark in the *Synodal Letter of the Oriental Patriarchs to Theophilos* (PG 95:372B).

The available evidence strongly favors the originality of the Chludov double glosses; the Pantokrator miniatures should be viewed as derivative and weakened. The Paris Fragment preserves one leaf out of the four; on folio 5v (Fig. 41), the light shines on St. Peter as well as on Eustathios, and thus helps tie the Chludov miniature to the presumed witness to the early level of psalter illustration. The first form of testimony involves the qualitative differences in subject matter. In each of the miniatures, save that of Eustathios and Peter, the element lost from the Pantokrator version has a polemical force relating directly to Iconoclasm.³⁷ The omissions belong to a pattern apparent throughout the Pantokrator cycle, at least as it is measured against the Chludov and in one case verifiable with the Paris Fragment. For example, the illuminator dropped the looming figure of the iconoclast Iannis, holding a moneybag and a snake and inspired by a demon (Ch 35v). A little before the leaf with Iannis, the Chludov Painter represented Judas holding a sack of money (Ch 32v), and this portrait does not appear in the Pantokrator Psalter; nor does an entire series that emphasized Judas' corruption and his betrayal of Christ (P 23, Ch 113). Absent from the Pantokrator Psalter is the scene of the divine punishment of those who "blaspheme against God's Holy Church" (inscription, Ch 10v) or that of the unspecified sinners (Ch 31); the Pantokrator Psalter does not have the grotesque men who "speak heresy and murmur against God" (inscription, Ch 70v) or the breaking of the sinners' horns (Ch 74). The Pantokrator illuminator seems less pricked by betrayal and heresy, though it is important to remember that his work contains the two densest anti-iconoclastic images to have survived (neither one known from the Chludov Psalter or the Paris Fragment).³⁸

The second category of evidence relates to the originality of the first element in the double glosses. The paired sequences start with a premise that seems to be conventional, just more examples of the sort of typology common to the New Testament and works of the most widely read commentators.³⁹ But in fact, the pairing of Peter's triumph with Ps. 51:8 was not a commonplace; it was not cited by any of the authors surveyed by C. Walter in his study of the literary background of the psalter cycle.⁴⁰ The same holds true of the premises underlying the other two double glosses. Even if one or all of the interpretations were to be discovered in a commentary, it would only mean that the typologies were highly unusual instead of otherwise unknown. The more satisfactory conclusion is the one that sees the double glosses as unified creations. They were invented as pairs to be imposed on the text following a method of scriptural interpretation that is the only conventional aspect of the psalters.

The third kind of evidence supporting the originality of the Chludov double glosses emerges from a larger context. The history of the Byzantine marginal psalters is entropic.

³⁷That of Eustathios and Peter is indirect, through a concern with holy visions that has been stressed by Grabar, *L'iconoclasmé*, 252–69, in relationship to Orthodox theology at the time of Iconoclasm.

³⁸The miniature on fol. 16 has been discussed by I. Ševčenko, "The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the *Pantokrator* Psalter," *CahArch* 15 (1965), 39–52; and that on fol. 165 by S. Dufrenne, "Une illustration 'historique,' inconnue, du psautier du Mont-Athos, *Pantokrator* n° 61," *CahArch* 15 (1965), 83–95.

³⁹C. Walter, "Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century," *REB* 44 (1986), 272–77, relates the subjects to a range of writings, all of which could reasonably be said to have had some circulation among those now envisioned as having been responsible for the production of the psalters.

⁴⁰Walter, "Christological Themes," 280.

Over the centuries in which they were made, the precise historical references were gradually lost; of all the examples produced after the ninth century, only the Hamilton Psalter preserves in any number the miniatures that gave the first psalters their sarcastic edge.⁴¹ The argument that the illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter blunted the message by editing the double glosses fits a known historical pattern.

The added importance of the double glosses lies in how close they take us to opposing perspectives on the invention of the marginal psalters. One view sees the ninth- and tenth-century psalters as the result of a kind of slow, organic growth from a type that must have been produced in Early Christian times; the supposed type would consist of typologies and historical scenes drawn from the Old Testament. When the Pantokrator versions (Figs. 38, 40, 42) are given priority over those of the Chludov Psalter, the result endorses the evolutionary view of the psalters' origin. The (truncated) miniatures in the Pantokrator Psalter reflect the primitive level of illustration known to a late-eighth- or ninth-century Byzantine. This Byzantine would have added topical miniatures to create a picture cycle that argued contemporary theology and condemned recent heresy. The second element in the Chludov double glosses would thus reflect the ninth-century stratum added to the first level. The opposing position, the one taken here, envisions the double glosses as unified creations that are separated only at the risk of losing their significance. This position views the cycle as the result of a burst of creativity, one for which earlier psalter illustration was of relevance only as a spark to a volatile gas. In the illustration of Ps. 68 (Figs. 39, 40), the topical gloss is the act labeled "simony," the crushing of which formed the foundation element in the celebration of Nikephoros' triumph over John the Grammarian. Quite likely the designer of the cycle began with the condemnation of the iconoclast patriarch and conceived of the scene of Simon and Peter as a way of linking current events to the prophecy through use of an accepted rhetorical device. In other words, the designer of the first marginal psalter forced typological linkages in order to provide a framework for comprehending the Orthodox triumph over Iconoclasm and iconoclasts. Following the hypothesis to its conclusion results in a radical suggestion: the marginal psalter type known in Greek manuscripts was created in the late eighth or early ninth century. The trajectory of creation began with a set of ardently held views that found expression in an exegetical structure that had come to be a traditional way of interpreting Scripture: the triumph of Orthodoxy was integral to God's plan for the salvation of humankind.

Study of the double glosses supports the argument regarding the relative positions of the three manuscripts, the hypothetical history that opened this conclusion. The Chludov Psalter and the Paris Fragment share a core of images, many of them tendentious; the Chludov Painter added subjects, and in so doing gave the cycle a slight ethical bent to which later generations proved highly sensitive.⁴² The illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter added little but still changed the message; he blunted the topicality. The less timebound creation found a later audience and on one occasion provided the model for a work in which the cycle was again edited to create the Bristol Psalter. Analysis of content

⁴¹C. Havice, "The Marginal Miniatures in the Hamilton Psalter (Kupferstichkabinett 78.A.9)," *JbBM* 26 (1984), 79–142.

⁴²Anderson, "Theodore Psalter," 560–68.

thus suggests that the Paris Fragment contains the earliest stratum of illustration, which the illuminators of the Chludov and Pantokrator psalters modified or augmented at a later time.

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